

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUBUMB 00710 01 OF 02 141038Z  
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
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R 140900Z JUN 78  
FM AMCONSUL LUBUMBASHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2488  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUBUMBASHI 0710

E.O. 11652 GDS  
TAGS: PINS, CG  
SUBJECT: LATEST SHABAN DEVELOPMENTS: VIEWS OF WELL-EDUCATED ZAIRIANS  
OF LUBUMBASHI

REF: LUBUMBASHI 0615

1. SUMMARY: DURING RECENT WEEK LUBUMBASHI'S PROFESSIONAL AND INTELLECT  
UAL

COMMUNITY SHOWS SIGNS OF INCREASING SUPPORT FOR CONCERN  
THAT ZAIRE'S PRESENT CRISIS, VIEWED AS THE WORST IN THE POST  
INDEPENDENCE PERIOD, CANNOT BE SOLVED AS LONG AS PRESIDENT  
MOBUTU REMAINS IN POWER. WHILE BASIC PROBLEMS ARE LONG  
STANDING, ACTIVITIES OF ZAIRIAN MILITARY IN PAST WEEKS HAVE  
MORE THAN ANY OTHER FACTOR MOBILIZED OPPOSITION TO  
GOVERNMENT. PROFESSIONAL/INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY ALSO  
HAS EXPRESSED UNCERTAINTY ABOUT LIKELY EFFECTIVENESS OF PAN  
AFRICAN FORCE, SKEPTICISM ABOUT CUBAN/RUSSIAN INVOLVEMENT  
AND CYNICISM ABOUT EXACT NATURE OF WESTERN INTERESTS IN  
ZAIRE. POSSIBILITY LOOMS THAT PAN AFRICAN FORCE, LED  
BY MOROCCANS AND CHARGED WITH PROTECTION OF SHABAN  
ECONOMY-- ANY BY EXTENSION MOBUTU GOVERNMENT-- WILL  
LEAD TO GREATER DISAFFECTION WITH WEST AND INCREASED  
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PAGE 02 LUBUMB 00710 01 OF 02 141038Z

WILITU TOWARD EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY-- END SUMMARY

2. DURING LAST TWO WEEKS CONSULATE AND CULTURAL CENTER  
PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN TALKING WITH VARIETY OF ZAIRIAN  
LAWYERS, DOCTORS, TECHNICIANS AND UNIVERSITY PRO  
FESSORS ABOUT SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT EVENTS. GROUP

REPRESENTS NON-GOVERNMENT NON-MILITARY ZAIRIAN ELITE OF LUBUMBASHI. ALL HAVE BENEFITED FROM RELATIVE PROSPERITY OF PAST INDEPENDENCE YEARS AND WOULD LOSE HOMES POSSESSION AND INVESTMENTS UNDER DISORDILY CONDITIONS. INDIVIDUALS ARE FROM ALL PART OF THE COUNTRY AND NOT KNOWN FOR STRONG IDEOLOGICAL PERSUASIONS.

3. ALMOST EVERYONE EXPRESSED VIEW THAT SITUATION IS NOW WORSE THAN DURING ANY OF ZAIRE'S PREVIOUS CRISES. PEHAPS PRESENCE OF FOREIGN TROOPS WILL DELAY EXPLOSION, BUT HATREDS ARE DEEP-SEATED AND CANNOT BE CONTAINED INDEFINATELY. NOBODY SPEAKS OF PROBLEM AS COMMUNIST INSPIRED. ROOT OF PROBLEM IS INTERNAL POLITICAL/ECONOMIC SITUATION AS DISCUSSED REFTEL. FEELINGS, WHICH WERE MIXED ABOUT SIGNIFICANCE OF EVENTS FROM DAY OF ATTACK TO ARRIVAL OF FRENCH AND BELGIANS TROOPS, HAVE RECENTLY INTENSIFIED IN ANIT MOBUTU DIRECTION.

4. CONTINUOUS HARASSMENT BY FAZ SOLDIERS INPOORER SECTION OF LUBUMBASHI HAS BEEN INSTRUMENT WHICH MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE HAS MOBILIZED NEARLY ENTIRE POPULATION AGAINST MOBUTU GOVERNMENT. ELEMENTS OF HARASSMENT ARE OVERZEALOUS ENFORCEMENT OF CURFEW, ROUTINE SEARCHES OF HOMES, BEATINGS FOR THE SLIGHTEST OFFENSE DEMANDS NOT ONLY FOR IDENTIFICATION PAPERS BUT ALSO

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PAGE 03 LUBUMB 00710 01 OF 02 141038Z

FOR RECEIPTS OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, CORDONING OFF SECTIONS OF TOWN AT SUN-UP FOR SEARCH OPERATIONS, THEREBY PREVENTING RESIDENTS FROM GOING TO WORK, AND HUNDREDS OF ARRESTS. (EXTORTION OF MONEY SEEN AS PRIMARY GOAL SINCE MONEY WILL BUY ONE'S WAY OUT OF ANY SITUATION FROM LACK OF PAPERS TO ARREST. IN ZONE KEYNA AT LEAST FIVE PEOPLE WERE KILLED JUNE 10 WHILE OPPOSING FAZ TACTICS. MUCH SPECULATION ABOUT FATE OF ARRESTED, WITH OCCASIONAL STORIES CIRCULATING ABOUT SHABANS BEING PUT ABOARD MILITARY PLANES AND PUSHED OUT THE DOOR AT HIGH ALTITUDES. ALL AGREE THAT CITIES OF LUBUMBASHI ARE READY FOR VIOLENT EXPLOSION. ONE DOCTOR SPECULATED THAT FAZ WAS DELIBERATELY PROVOKING PEOPLE TO REVOLT SO THAT FURTHER REPRESSIVE MEASURES, POSSIBLY MASS KILLINGS AS OCCURRED IN IDIOFA IN FEBRUARY, COULD BE JUSTIFIED IN NAME OF ORDER AND SECURITY.

5. WESTERN TROOPS, PARTICULARLY LEGIONNAIRES HAVE IN RECENT WEEKS IMPROVED THEIR IMAGE IN SHABA. SHOOT FIRST, ASK QUESTIONS LATER POLICY DURING FIRST DAYS OF REOCCUPATION OF KOLWEZI CREATED MUCH

EARLY BAD WILL. AFTER LEGIONNAIRES MOVED TO LUBUMBASHI THEIR PRIMARY EFFORTS HAVE BEEN DIRECTED AGAINST FAZ HARASSMENT. MANY ZAIRIANS CAN CITE STORIES OF LEGIONNAIRES INTERVENTION TO HALT FAZ TERRORISM, MAKING FRENCH HEROES AMONG MANY OF URBAN POOR. STORIES CIRCULATE ABOUT PEOPLE THREATENING TO SCREAM FOR FRENCH WHEN FACED WITH DEMAND FOR MONEY. INTELLECTUALS ARE LESS HAPPY ABOUT FOREIGN TROOP PRESENCE BECAUSE IT IS SEEN SOLEY IN TERMS OF PROVIDING BASE FOR CONTINUATION OF MOBUTU RULE.

6. ALTHOUGH PAN AFRICAN FORCE NOT YET IN PLACE, FEW BELIEVE IT CAN TAKE PACE OF FRENCH AND BELGIANS. ALTHOUGH MOROCCANS FOUGHT WELL IN 1977, MANY HAVE HEARD  
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PAGE 04 LUBUMB 00710 01 OF 02 141038Z

STORIES THAT FLNC IS NOT AFRAID  
OF OTHER AFRICANS.  
TROOPS FROM SENEGAL AND OTHER BLACK AFRICAN STATES ARE EXPECTED TO SHARE SAME VIEWS OF SHABA AS ZAIRIANS TROOPS FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. MANY ARE EXPECTED TO BECOME QUICKLY INVOLVED IN SMUGGLING OF MALACHITE AND DIAMONDS--A PROFESSION WHICH INCLUDED MANY LOCALLY RESIDENT WEST AFRICANS UNTIL MOBUTU EXPELLED THEM TEN YEARS AGO. AS ONE ZAIRIAN NOTED TROOPS FROM THE CONGO FOUGHT BRAVELY IN WORLD WAR II. IT IS A GREAT EMBARRASMENT FOR ALL ZAIRIANS THAT NATIONS LIKE GABON

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PAGE 01 LUBUMB 00710 02 OF 02 141051Z  
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AMEMBASSY INSHASA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUBUMBASI 0710

AND THE IVORY COST MUST NOW PROTECT US FROM OUR OWN SOLDIERS.

7. ALTHOUGH FEW TALK OPENLY IN FRONT OF OTHER ZAIRIANS ALMOST EVERYONE SAYS PRIVATELY THAT SITUATION CANNOT IMPROVE AS LONG AS MOBUTU IS IN POWER. MOBUTUS YEARS OF PERSONAL ENRICHMENT AT EXPENSE OF NATION STRINGS OF BROKEN PROMISES, AND APPARENT DISLIKE OF ANYTHING SHABAN MAKE IMPOSSIBLE RECONCILIATION, LET ALONG RESOLUTION OF BASIC POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES. MOBUTU IS SEEN AS MASTER POLITICIAN WHO WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY ONE ZAIRIAN FACION AGAINST ANOTHER AS HE

PLAYS EACH FOREIGN POWER AGAINST THE OTHER. ONE LAWYER SCOFFED AT THE IDEA THAT MOBUTU WAS A FRIEND OF WEST, POINTING OUT THAT IN 1973-75 PERIOD MOBUTU WAS CONDEMNING US AND EUROPE IN SAME WORDS HE IS NOW CON- DEMING RUSSIANS AND CUBANS. A SWITCH TO THE POLICIES OF THE PAST COULD OCCUR AT ANY TIME UPON THE SLIGHTEST PROVOCATION. MOBUTUS ONLY IDEALOGY IS SEEN AS CON- TINUED POWER AND PERSONAL GAIN.

8. SHBANS GENERALLY DOWN PLAY EXTERNAL THREAT POSED  
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PAGE 02 LUBUMB 00710 02 OF 02 141051Z

BY CUBAN RUSSIAN CONSPIRACY. SEVERAL PEOPLE MADE POINT THAT SINCE WESTERN POWERS SCRUPULOUSLY AVOIDED PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRIANS DISSIDENTS SUCH GROUPS HAD NO PLACE TO TURN TO BUT TO CUBANS AND RUSSIANS COM- MUNIST ASSISTANCE IS CONSIDERED MINOR FACTOR IN OUT- COME OF EVENTS. EMPHASIS IS ALWAYS PUT ON INITIATIVE FROM ZAIRAIANS RATHER THAN ZAIRINS BEING TOOLS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY. HENCE, HARD-LINE COLD WAR TALK LIKE THAT HEARD RECENTLY IN WASHINGTON FROM SENEGALS SENGHOR MEETS WITH VERY LITTLE SYMPATHY ALONG LOCAL ACADEMICS. ONE OF ZAIRES LEADING INTELLECTUALS REMARKED" WHAT A PITY THAT AT THE TWILIGHT OF A DISTINGUISHED CAREER SENGHOR SHOULD END UP GISCARD'S ERRAND-BOY(GARCON DE COURSES)".

9. MANY OF INTELLECTUALS ARE CYNICAL ABOUT NATURE OF WESTERN INTERESTS IN ZAIRE. BEYOND PRESERVING MINERAL RESOURCES FOR WESTERN CONSUMPTION. THEY ASK WHAT IS THE WEST REAL CONCERN ABOUT ZAIRE, HOW MANY DEVELOPMENTS PROJECTS EXIST WHICH PROVIDE AID TO PEOPLE OF ZAIRE? ONE LAWYER POINTED OUT THAT MAJORITY OF

MOST COSTLY GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED PROJECTS IN RECENT YEARS ARE WHITE ELEPHANTS LIKE WORLD TRADE CENTER VOICE OF ZAIRE BUILDING, SATELLITE TELEVISION SYSTEM AND INGA-SHABA POWER LINE. WHICH ARE NOT NEEDED BY COUNTRY, BUT PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR WESTERN COMMERCIAL INTERESTS TO EXPLORE ZAIRES PRESENT AND FUTURE WEALTH, OFTEN INCLUDING KICKBACKS BETWEEN MOBUTU GOVERNMENT AND COMPANY OFFICIALS.

10. AS ANTI-MOBUTU FEELINGS HAVE MOUNTED IN RECENT WEEKS, SO HAS HOSTILITY BETWEEN ZAIRIANS AND EXPATRIATES  
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PAGE 03 LUBUMB 00710 02 OF 02 141051Z

FRUSTRATIONS ARE OF LONG STANDING, UNEQUAL PAY AFTER GRADUATING FROM THE SAME EUROPEAN INSTITUTION UNEQUAL BENEFITS IN BIG COMPANIES LIKE GCM AND RAILROAD. UNEQUAL HOUSING, AND SUSPICIOUS THAT AMONG EXPATRIATES THERE IS FEELING THAT ZAIRIANS CANNOT DO ANYTHING CORRECTLY. WESTERN INTERVENTION SEEN AS A PROP TO PROTECT WESTERN COMMERCIAL INTERESTS AND BY EXTENSION MOBUTU. ATTITUDE IS GROWING THAT PARTNERSHIP OF EUROPEAN AND MOBUTU CLIQUE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR POVERTY OF MAJORITY AMONG RICHES OF SHABA. NO CONCERN SEEN BY WESTERN DECISION MAKERS OVER FATE OF ZAIRIANS WHO MUST LIVE UNDER REPRESSIVE SYSTEM. WESTERN GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS ARE LOOKED UPON INCREASINGLY IN RACISTS TERMS. STATEMENTS BY MOBUTU THAT THERE WERE TOO MANY EXPATRIATES AT KOLWEZI HAVE LED SOME GECAMINES EXPATRIATES TO MORE CYNICAL AND LESS COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE RESULTING IN FURTHER GROWTH OF RESENTMENT AMONG ZAIRIAN CADRE. SHABAN WAR OF 1977 HAD NO RACIAL OVERTONES PRESENT STRUGGLE IF IT CONTINUES IN SAME DIRECTION COULD FURTHER LATENT RACIAL HOSTILITIES.

11. MOST ZAIRIANS AGREE THAT HARD TIMES LIE AHEAD. WHILE MANY HOPE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WOULD TAKE ACTION TO CHANGE POLITICAL CLIMATE THEY SEE WESTERN INTERESTS AS LIKELY TO PROLONG RULE BY MOBUTU. THE PROSPECT IS NOT GREETED HAPPILY. AS ONE PROMINENT CITIZEN NOTED, HE AND HIS FAMILY WOULD PROBABLY SEE GREAT SUFFERING IN THE YEARS AHEAD, BUT THAT HE WOULD RATHER BE KILLED IN CROSSFIRE OR FOR IDEOLOGICAL REASONS THAN BY THE UNCONTROLLABLE SOLDIERS AND FOOLS WHO NOW ROAM THE STREETS OF LUBUMBASHI.

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